JEWISH OBSERVER

AND

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SOMETHING THE PARTIES OVERLOOKED

—THE FUTURE _PAGES 2-8

COMMENT

NO TIME TO THINK?

Dr. Nahum Goldmann's last-minute intervention in Israel's General Election has immediately raised the temperature of an otherwise torpid campaign. It has also considerably improved the level of discussion and widened the range of issues over which the election is being fought, and, as such, it has done some good and ought to be welcomed. For a public discussion of Israel's foreign policy is overdue—as much in order to educate public opinion as to compel the leaders—and thinkers—of all parties to think ahead and to clarify their positions.

But this, unfortunately, neither the Liberal Party nor Dr. Goldmann has done; nor, for that matter, has any of the other parties now assaulting Israel's record in international affairs. This is a pity, because a country's foreign policy should be discussed as much as its economic policy, and it should be aired before the electorate whether it has been successful or not. Dr. Goldmann, and the Liberal Party, have claimed that Israel's foreign policy has remained unchanged for thirteen years and has lost its pristine energy and initiative. This is the burden of his criticism.

It is a not altogether justified attack. After all, Israel under the Ben-Gurion-Sharett administration of foreign affairs was one of the first countries in the United Nations to attempt a policy of non-identification, as Mr. Sharett called it at the time. It turned out to be singularly unrewarding. It was not Mr. Sharett's fault; it was the product of events in the wider world over which Israel had no control—but to which she has had constantly to adjust herself.

* * *

But it is Dr. Goldmann's—and the Liberal Party's—approach to this serious problem that is principally at fault, far more so than their formulation of it. Israel's foreign policy can be assessed only by its record. And it has had its failures, its blind-spots and weaknesses, but it has also scored some striking and decisive successes which, on balance, have greatly outweighed the failures. But this is not the issue which concerns the electorate.

It is not Israel's past foreign policy that should be principally under discussion, but her future policy; her policy, that is, for the next five months and five years—not for the remote and cloudy future to which Dr. Goldmann addressed himself in his first speeches. Foreign policy in real life is never shaped on principles or on profound generalisations. Israel is in no position to propose to integrate herself in the Middle East or to change her relations with the Arab world,

as the Liberal Party claims that she should do.

What will decide this will be the practical application of Israel's policy on the Arab refugee question at the next U.N. Assembly, or her future relationship to the European Common Market (a matter of the greatest importance), or the nature of her future connections in Africa and what she wants to achieve through them, and, above all, the quality and superiority of Israel's defence posture. These are the things that matter and they are settled, not by a "flexible" policy (whatever that means) but by a continuous process of thinking, planning and decisive action. Every one of these major foreign policy issues requires almost daily decisions and actions—and it is just here that the Liberal Party proposals advanced so succinctly by Mr. Moshe Kol last weekend appear to raise an insuperable obstacle to a decisive foreign policy.

* * *

Mr. Kol proposed that the next Cabinet should be an exact reflection of the Knesset, and that the same proportionate representation should apply to the Cabinet as to the Knesset. Moreover, he argued that no decisions should be taken except with the knowledge of all Cabinet Ministers. How this nightmare arrangement would apply to defence and foreign policy, Mr. Kol did not explain, but it requires no great imagination to visualise the policy chaos that would be produced.

The fact is that Israel's major foreign policy problem is not the past record but her future intentions. And these remain as undefined by Dr. Goldmann as they were before. At least, Mr. Ben-Gurion can claim that he has been doing things. He has broken through Israel's diplomatic isolation in the west and created a chain of remarkable connexions in Africa. But it has nevertheless been a policy compounded of a mixture of intuition, improvisation and imagination—rather than of planning and consistent application. And it is this aspect of the future that needs public discussion and departmental improvements.

In some fields it has been brilliantly successful, in others an abysmal failure. The question is, where is Israel heading in the Middle East: can she look forward to a period in which she will move steadily closer to peace and normality, or will Israel have to continue to live, plan and shape her foreign and defence policies on the prospect of having to live through more dangerous years. So far, Dr. Goldmann and the Liberal Party have produced no convincing evidence that we are done with living dangerously, and Mapai has failed to produce a satisfying answer indicating that the present mechanics of Israel's foreign policy are adequate for the job in hand; that she has the men and the means to think ahead and plan ahead.

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- Photo Braun

CONTENTS

CONTENTS
Comment: No time to think 2
Arab World: A Trojan horse in
Kuwait 3
Israel: Goldmann intervenes,
Mapai reacts 4-6
Arabs do not favour minor-
ity parties 6
How the parties present the issues 7
"Eichmann a man of virtue"
—defence's plea 8
In The News: When Hadassah
erred: Frustrated mediators;
Undiplomatic diplomats 9-10
Middle East: Cairo's biting at-
tack on "Stalinist terrorism" 11
TURKISH REVOLUTION'S
DAY OF RECKONING: Will the Army get out
of politics? 12-13
Education — Arabs lack
schools and teachers 14-15
The Gulf: Kassem threatens
Kuwait take-over again;
Reports of uprisings in
Aden 16
Books: The German Opposition
to Hitler; A Modern History of the Sudan; Israel Today
—a series of booklets 17
Israeli Enterprise: Keen de-
mand for corner-stones by
politicians 18–19
Letter 19

ADVERTISEMENTS :

21-23

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ARAB WORLD

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ARAB ARMY REMAINS
PHANTOM FORCE

from a special correspondent

Beirut :

Four weeks ago, the cry on every Arab lip was: "The British must leave Kuwait." An emergency meeting of the Arab League was held in Cairo at which it was agreed that if the price of getting rid of the British troops was the dispatch of an Arab replacement force, then this price must be paid.

This was the central core of a three-part deal with the Sheikh of Kuwait. His country would be admitted to the Arab League, an Arab force would move in to protect Kuwait against Iraq's threats and the British would depart. Four weeks' later the situation has not changed in its practical aspects. Iraq is still threatening. British troops are still in Kuwait. No Arab army has yet put in an appearance.

It was only this week that an Arab League military mission made its first call on the Sheikh to discuss with him a number of proposals regarding the take-over. It was headed by Maj. Gen. Halim of the U.A.R., prospective commander of the Arab army, and consisted of representatives of Lebanon, Morocco, Saudi Arabia and Jordan, accompanied by the assistant secretary-general of the Arab League, Dr. Sayed Naufal.

Where are they? But even the arrival of the military mission in Kuwait was no guarantee that an Arab army would follow. First, and in a sense only a technicality, there was the question of who would make up the army. The original intention had been that no troops should be supplied by any country bordering on Israel, so as to avert the danger of a surprise Israeli attack on weakened Arab forces. But this limitation had soon to be abandoned.

As the messages flowed back and forth between Arab League headquarters in Cairo and the Arab capitals, it became clear that Tunisia, mobilised against the French, would not be able to spare any troops. Morocco and Sudan said they were prepared to participate, but could see no way of overcoming the gigantic transport problem. Apart from that, they were not anxious to engage their men

in a new adventure far from home.

This left only Libya and Saudi Arabia as countries not directly bordering on Israel able to make a military contribution. Saudi Arabia pointed out that her contingent was already in Kuwait—a fact that nobody in Kuwait is either able to confirm or deny. A couple of Saudi Arabian officers have been spotted in the town but nothing has been seen of the 150 troops supposed to be in Kuwait with them.

Three were left: That left only Libya, the bulk of whose army is needed at home to defend the shaky throne of King Idris. Even if he were to spare a larger part of it than seems likely, that would hardly constitute an "Arab solution" of the Kuwait problem. It was obvious that the limitation to countries other than those bordering on Israel would have to be lifted. Lebanon, her army already too small to deal with a crisis at home let alone an international one beyond her borders, cried off.

Like the nine green bottles hanging on the wall, one Arab country after another had fallen by the wayside until only three were left: Libya, Jordan and the United Arab Republic. With only token contributions to be expected from the first two, it became obvious that major responsibility would fall squarely upon the army of President Nasser.

This, it has now dawned on the most dim-witted of Arab League delegates, was exactly what President Nasser had been counting upon all the time. Just as General Kassem has eyed Kuwait for the extra riches it could bring into his Treasury, so President Nasser over the



Saud if he could spare more men in addition to the phantom 150 already said to be in Kuwait.

Nasser, in this instance, is prepared to let the League do the work for him. It is now plain that Kassem has committed himself to laying continued claim to Kuwait, which means that for so long as he is in power the threat to Kuwait will continue. This has the corollary that Kuwait's defence must be assured for an equal period of time.

Oil companies' concern: Once the Arab army is in Kuwait, it will have to remain for some considerable time. Only the U.A.R. is in a position to spare the men, the arms and the supplies for a constant vigil along the Kuwait-Iraqi frontier and, as experience in Syria has proven, once your army is in, half the battle is over.

The choice now before the Ruler of Kuwait is whether to exchange British protection for Egyptian protection. It is a hard choice, involving isolation within the Arab world and consequent internal pressure from nationalist elements, or a sharing of his massive royalties with the U.A.R., which is to gain admission as an occupation force with an air of respectability. It is a prospect which not only daunts him, but also the oil companies who view the coming of U.A.R. troops with considerable, and understandable, concern.

For Kassem, too, the prospect is unpleasing. It is true, as the JEWISHOBSERVER reported at the time, that he moved no troops from north to south at the start of the Kuwait crisis. He had as many troops stationed in the south as he would



DR. GIORA JOSEPHTAL "All words"—and a warning

have needed for an occupation of Kuwait if the British had not turned up. He could not have risked moving men from the north, where they stand as an assurance against a stab in the back from Syria.

Euphrates row in prospect: These same considerations apply even more now, when he seems likely to have U.A.R. forces facing him along both his northern and southern borders. There is already a new row blowing up between himself and Nasser over the projected Euphrates dam to be built by Syria which, according to a Baghdad claim this week, would deprive Iraq of irrigation waters for a planting area of more than half a million acres of arable land, a threat which the newspaper al Bayan (organ of the Iraqi National Progressive Party) said "has aroused the interest and worry of Iraqi public opinion".

From everybody's viewpoint, except Nasser's, it may yet turn out that the best solution of the Kuwait problem is the "British solution", a prospect which will be greeted with no great enthusiasm by either Whitehall's planners or the troops still sweltering in the Kuwaiti desert. It will be strongly resisted, too, though perhaps discreetly, by most Arab League members.

[Kassem says it again-p. 16]

ISRAEL

"A NEUTRAL MIDDLE EAST"—GOLDMANN

GIVES NEW LEAD TO LIBERAL CAMPAIGN

from our own correspondent

Jerusalem:

Dr. Nahum Goldmann has come, has seen, but it is doubtful if he has conquered. The excitement which he was expected to inject into the election campaign has failed to materialise.

There was, of course, a ready-made audience waiting for him, consisting not only of Liberal Party supporters but also of those many who remembered his opening speech at the last Zionist Congress, which was broadcast in full at the time and made a deep impression.

But Goldmann, like so many other party spokesmen, had to compete with the mid-summer weather and the call of the beaches. It was there that the majority of young Israelis were to be found—the "unknowns" of this election—and it is there that many of them will be found on polling day if the still rather apathetic public attitude to the election continues.

Personal attacks barred: If the party leaders and headquarters know about this apathy, they are not letting on.

Not surprisingly, the topic most discussed at meetings in this past week has been Goldmann's appearance on the scene and his foreign policy ideas. There were some within Mapai who wanted to attack him personally, to question his intervention in an Israeli General Election. But Ben-Gurion held out against this and, so far, has carried the party with him.

But, as Giora Josephtal said, while Mapai must "stay clear of the personal problems connected with Goldmann's appearance in the State's election campaign, we must express an opinion on the views he put forward." And this he did, vigorously, his main criticism being that Goldmann had paraded the vision of a new path which Israel might follow without "going into the details and without stating openly what it is." He warned him against engaging in a dangerous game of words.

Where she belongs: On the other hand, it must be conceded that Goldmann's coming did the election campaign some good, injecting into it a

number of ideas which were well expressed and argued, although not new.

But, most of all, he brought to the forefront an issue that is real and basic to Israel's existence as a State, and on which discussion had previously tended to run along well-worn tracks.

In an hour-long speech to the Liberal youth in Tel Aviv, the gist of which was reprinted as a 4,000 word article in Friday's Ma'ariv, Goldmann presented his views on the place of Israel in world politics and how she should set about attaining it.

Foreign policy "stagnant": Its pivotal point was his statement that Israel should strive to become part of a confederation of neutral Middle Eastern states. This could be done only by finding a common language with the Arabs. It was a longterm project, Goldmann said. But it was one which required dynamic thinking and action. At present, Israel's foreign policy was stagnating. Considerations of defence prevailed. The basic attitude towards the Arabs had not changed in the last thirteen years.

This, Goldmann thought, was dangerous, because time was working against Israel. The tendency in the world was toward a realignment in blocs, and there was no doubt that the Middle Eastern states would in time form a bloc of this kind.

If Israel wanted to go on living in the Middle East, she could not remain an alien body in it. She could not continue in her pro-western orientation, because international events had shown that time was working against the bloc of western nations.

Cabinet post denial: Most of the other arguments used by Goldmann were an extension of this basic attitude. He demanded a policy of non-identification, similar to that of most Arab states. He believed that a guarantee of Israel's territorial integrity could be obtained from the major powers in both the east and the west. He advocated an arms embargo as far as the Middle Eastern area is concerned. And he believed, as a Liberal spokesman, that a strong Liberal party was the body best able to work toward these solutions.

He stated categorically that he was not prompted by a desire to become a Cabinet Minister in Israel. He had several times received such offers, but had reiected them.

Intervention justified: He surprised some by advocating a reform of the electoral system which would limit the number of political parties in Israel. (The plurality system demanded by Mapai had formerly been the official policy of the General Zionists, but the new Liberal



DR. NAHUM GOLDMANN A right-and a duty

Party recently rejected it, the majority vote being composed of the Progressives and some General Zionists).

He started off somewhat apologetically, explaining why he, who was not a citizen of Israel and did not intend to settle here permanently at the moment, had the right to take part in Israel's party political life. Even Ben-Gurion admitted to being first a Jew and second an Israeli, Goldmann pointed out, And a Zionist who was deeply involved in the future of Israel certainly had not only the right but also the duty to express opinions on questions of primary importance to her development, such as foreign policy, for instance.

Proceeding from this point, Goldmann expatiated on the evils of one-party rule, or rather, a system in which only one party had real strength. This party was apt to feel after some time that party interests necessarily reflected the interests of the state as a whole, he declared. And even if this party, such as Mapai, started out by having an ideology as well as interests, it was inevitable that the interests would prevail in the long run, in the absence of real opposition.

Opponent of drift: He went on to explain that he had the authority to analyse the foreign policy of Israel, although he could not speak freely because of the secret nature of much of his information. He recalled, however, that he was the man who "sold" the idea of partition to the U.S., and that without it there would have been no U.N. resolution, and possibly no state.

Regarding the refugees, he stressed that "large numbers" of them could certainly not be admitted to Israel. On the other hand, he rejected the "heroic" stand of some Mapai leaders who had been saying that not a single refugee would be admitted to the country before a peace treaty was signed.

The foreign policy of Israel could not go on marking time, as it had for the past thirteen years. There was no possibility of imposing peace on the Arabs. There was also no certainty that the new Arab generation, for which some of Israel's leaders (he did not say who) seemed to be waiting, would be more inclined to accept Israel. It was quite possible that the Arab ruling classes in ten or twenty years would be still more extremist in their attitude.

Better than waiting: Advocating efforts to achieve a Middle East confederation. Goldmann was careful not to describe it as a panacea. It was possible that this new approach would not produce immediate results. It might be a question of years. However, he argued, present policy would not lead anywhere in any period of time, Ben-Gurion himself, in his talks with Dean Acheson after the World War. subscribed to the principle of confederation, Goldmann claimed. It was possible that even today he might restate this principle. But the important thing was not statements-it was action, or the lack of action.

Israel's orientation toward the west should be changed for a number of reasons, Goldmann stated, First, a Jewish



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Telegrams: ITALSHIP 'Phone: MAN 6961 State should afford Jews everywhere the possibility of identification with its aims, without committing them *a priori* to a fixed attitude in world conflicts. Secondly, by the law of reaction, the eastern countries had become automatically anti-Israeli. Thirdly, the Arab states were uncommitted, and Israel must follow if she wanted to become an integral part of the area.

He went on to explain why, in his opinion, both west and east would not be averse to a neutralisation of Israel, a guarantee of her defence against aggression and an arms embargo. The west, while friendly to Israel, did not want to be burdened with guarding her. The east would be more difficult to persuade, but recognition of its equal status in the Middle East, which would be implied by joining the west as guarantors of Middle East neutrality, might be just the right incentive.

No crusade against Mapai: However, Goldmann stressed that all this did not mean that he advocated any relaxation or weakening of the army. He also rejected territorial concessions, because the Arabs had sufficient territory, and a smaller state would not seem any less of an intruder to them.

In conclusion, Goldman remarked that he was not sure if everything he said expressed the official stand of the Liberal Party, which is divided over several issues of foreign policy. Nor did he want to start a crusade against Mapai. But Israel would no doubt benefit from a strong Liberal Party which might become a real alternative to Mapai. As such, it would lead the way to important internal reforms as well as new initiatives in the field of foreign policy.

SAME AGAIN FOR ARAB VOTERS?

MINORITY PARTIES NOT IN FAVOUR

from a special correspondent

Jerusalem:

Some 95,000 Arabs are eligible to vote for the Fifth Knesset. In the past, about half the Arab vote—which on August 15 will decide the allocation of 10 seats—went to parties affiliated with Mapai, 15 per cent went to Mapam and the communists, and 35 to other Jewish parties.

In the Fourth Knesset, only a goodly slice of luck and surplus vote agreements allowed the Mapai-affiliated lists to keep their five mandates. There were two independent Arab lists headed respectively by Mas'ad Kassis and Sheikh Salah Kheifis, each of which obtained several thousand votes.

This time, Mapai has merged two of the three Arab lists, but again there are two others. Sheikh Salah Kheifis is trying again, this time at the head of a list unofficially connected with the Liberal party. He is hoping to gain more support from among the Druze community to which he belongs. During the elections to the Fourth Knesset, most of his votes came from Moslems and Beduin.

The second independent Arab list is led by Daoud el Khoury, a property-owning intellectual in his forties. He is a Christian. Though his family is well-known in both Nazareth and Haifa, his chances of election do not seem too bright.



CHIEF OF ISRAEL'S BEDUIN Seventy-five sons—how will they vote?

The Arab list which has consistently been the most successful in the past is still headed by Ahmed Kamel el Dahar, a well-known Nazareth community leader, and for many years a member of the Nazareth city council. Two others with a good chance of election on this list are Elias Nakhle, a Greek Catholic from Rama village, who has the support of Archbishop Hakim, and Sheikh Jabr Mu'adi from the village of Yerka in Upper Galilee.

Nakhle was a captain in the Transjordan Frontier Force during the British Mandate. Sheikh Jabr Mu'adi, who is a Druze, was not particularly friendly to the Jewish cause before 1948. He replaces Sheikh Labib Abu Rukun of Isfiyeh, a staunch friend of long standing, who has been given the important task of taking charge of demobilised Druze soldiers and dealing with their establishment in civilian life. In this, he will be directly responsible to the Deputy Minister of Defence.

The second Mapai-affiliated list is headed by Yusuf Abdullah Diyab from Tamrah village, who for many years served as chairman of his local council in Lower Galilee. During that period, Tamrah sponsored a number of successful development projects and became the first Arab village to co-operate with the Government in constructively tackling the problem of displaced Arabs, hundreds of whom had found shelter there. Tamrah has a model school, a vocational



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The second candidate on this list belongs to the Abdul Razek family of Taibeh village, which took an active part in Arab terrorist movements during the Mandatory period. The fact that he is now likely to sit in the Knesset speaks plainly for itself. He replaces Mahmoud Nashef

The Communists and Mapam continue to put Arabs on their lists, as before. For the Communists, Tewfiq Toubi, at number two, will certainly be elected, though the others have virtually no chance. Mapam has Yusef Khamis, of Reinah village, in a realistic place, and he should retain his Fourth Knesset seat. It has also put on its list the Beduin Sheikh Mussa el Atawneh, but at the very end—that is, in a place considered an honour but carrying no chance of election.

Ahdut Avoda has an Arab—48-year-old Salim Khalil from the Little Triangle—at No. 10. Ahdut Avoda had 10 seats in the Third Knesset, so the place may barely be considered realistic, but now it has only 7. Khalil's chances are thus somewhat uncertain, if not decidedly doubtful.

To what extent the Arabs will vote for their own lists this time remains to be seen. It is not certain that the trend to vote directly for Jewish lists will continue. Among the Jewish parties, Mapam and the Communists have been very active in Arab areas. Another party whose impact is a question-mark is the Liberals, whose politics may appeal to some of the Arab land owning classes. But hitherto the Arab voter has, in the majority of cases, tended to back the ruling party. And there is still no evidence that he will make a break and desert it this time.

HOW THE PARTIES SEE THE ISSUES

MAPAI'S DEMOCRACY CENTRAL THEME

from our own correspondents in Israel

Economics, foreign policy, defence and a host of domestic issues—all have had their part in the election campaign which comes to an end next Tuesday, when Israelis go to the polls to choose their government for the next four years.

But the central theme of the 1961 campaign—despite Dr. Goldmann's lastminute effort to concentrate attention on foreign policy—has been none of these. It



COMMUNISTS' SHMUEL MIKUNIS
Condemned—everyone and everything

has been the wider issue of whether Mapai is a democratic force or a danger to democracy, and whether democracy in Israel can only be assured by the creation of an effective opposition able to provide an alternative government.

The Liberals, who have provided all the pace-making during the campaign, contend that democracy in Israel is in danger and that, only by the establishment of an effective opposition can there be an end to the abuses which it considers Mapai—especially Mapai's leader David Ben-Gurion—have perpetrated.

Guardians: The last government was brought down by the Lavon affair, and it is this affair which has formed the central core of the Liberal attack. The affair, they said, made it quite clear that it was possible for actions to be taken in the field of security, which could have consequences for the State, without the knowledge and consent of the Minister of Defence—unless he was Ben-Gurion—or any Prime Minister other than Ben-Gurion, or of the government as a whole.

Once a Prime Minister of overwhelming stature had shown a disregard for democratic procedure, why should his successors, lesser men, be more scrupulous in safeguarding those fundamental principles without reverence for which a State swiftly departed from the democratic path? It was primarily as guardians of Israel's democracy that the Liberal Party appealed to the electorate.

On foreign policy, there were no firm Liberal commitments, other than pledges to display more political initiative in improving Israel's standing in the eyes of the powers competing for world domination, to strive for regional peace and expand co-operation with new nations in Africa and Asia.

Tax reform and a constitution: On the domestic front, there was a pledge of extended social welfare and educational services, including the replacement of Kupat Holim by a national health service, reform of the tax system, retrenchment of public administration and the enactment of a constitution safeguarding the "democratic-liberal character of the regime and the balance of political and social power as between the different elements of the community." The Liberals declared themselves in favour of the coexistence of private, state and co-operative enterprise and equality of privilege for all sectors of the economy, whether public or private.

Mapai has been content to ask for the electorate's endorsement of its record. It has introduced no new policy plank into its election programme and used most of its energies to counter the Liberal's atti-Ben-Gurion campaign. To charges of dictatorship by the Premier, Mapai replies that dictatorships disfranchise their opponents and suppress both free speech and free elections. "What did Ben-Gurion do? He resigned!" For the rest, its line has been to defend its achievements and to question how anyone could possibly

Mapam, too, has fought along traditional party lines, its main concern being

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to deny to Mapai all the credit for what has been achieved by way of development and national improvement. It has been left to two of the smaller parties—Ahdut Avoda and Poalei Agudat Israel—to show any special initiative which might catch the voter's eve.

Five-day week: Ahdut Avoda committed itself to the establishment of a national policy planning committee to evolve a systematic counter policy to Arab campaigns against Israel "and put an end to the competition between the Ministries of Foreign Affairs and Defence." On the domestic front, it is seeking free and compulsory secondary schooling, with vocational training for all, and the formulation of a basic constitution "in order to prevent frivolous changes."

Poalei Agudat Israel opposes any relations with Germany, demands a five-day week, urges the separation of the Chief Rabbinate and the State—and asks for full government maintenance of its school system. Its religious opponent, the Aguda, has confined most of its election campaign to vilification of Poalei Aguda. Mizrachi emphasis, too, has been on religious issues, its basic election pledge "To unify one holy nation in Israel—for now and all time".

Herut joined the Liberals in making the Lavon affair the central point of its campaign (it featured to a lesser degree in the campaigning of all the other parties, except' Mapai, which ignored it completely). The communists condemned everyone and everything, from Ben-Gurion to Ahdut Avoda, from the Shavit II rocket to military government. Whereas the others only promised to change Israeli policy, said the communists, they would really be in a position to make changes.

"EICHMANN—A MAN OF VIRTUE"

DEFENCE WILL PLEAD MORALITY OF OBEYING ORDERS

from Trude B. Feldman

Jerusalem:

When Dr. Servatius begins his closing speech for Adolf Eichmann at the end of this week or the beginning of next, he will describe his client as "a man of virtue, not a criminal, because it is a virtue to follow orders. . . Eichmann did not kill because he hated people. It is only a question of orders being thrust upon a soldier. Soldiers get decorations for doing their duty and are not supposed to cry."

Servatius is in agreement with Eichmann's decision to accept moral guilt "because it is a most moral thing to follow orders. When an order is law, it is immoral to disobey."

Dismissing any distinction between acts of war aimed at forcing a country to surrender and the massacre of a defenceless population after surrender (a distinction outlined in court by Judge Halevy), Servatius commented: "Suppose the Arabs suddenly attack Israel. Soldiers are ordered to launch atom bombs. Do you think the soldiers will first run to a lawyer and ask for legal opinion?"

Hopeful on extradition demand: By moral guilt, said Servatius, he meant that when a soldier gets an order to go to war, he cannot first ask his government which sort of war it will be—"you must go!" However, Servatius claimed, "Eichmann is not legally guilty because he followed political orders at all times."

The German defence lawyer said he was fully aware of the principle laid down at Nuremberg that a man who carries out criminal orders is just as guilty as the one who gives them. Why then did he accept this case? "Because the Nuremberg trials concerned themselves only with political leaders and the highest war criminals, not with the small fry like my client."

He was still hopeful, he added, that he would secure a German demand



COUNSEL FOR THE DEFENCE SERVATIUS
A small fry to be proud of

for Eichmann's extradition and he intends to pursue his lawsuit for legal aid from the Bonn Government.

Denial of legal guilt is not the only point Servatius intends to press. Although the court has overruled his challenge of its jurisdiction and has twice rejected the summoning of witnesses to prove Eichmann's forcible abduction from Argentina, he plans to "leave no legal stone unturned" to substantiate his claim that the Israel court has no competence because of extra-territoriality and because, in his view, ex post facto law is null and void.

No suicide: Eichmann, says his counsel, believes that by co-operating fully with the Israeli authorities he may escape the hangman's noose, although he has not been promised any mercy. And if his client is hanged all the same, then, Servatius claims, it will only be because his case is of a political nature. His client has told him that he will never commit suicide because, in so doing, the world would see an admission of total guilt. He wants to see the case out to its very end

If Eichmann were sentenced to death, would there be an appeal? "Definitely," replied Servatius. If Eichmann is convicted, then his defence counsel intends to argue in mitigation "that it is a virtue to obey orders the way Eichmann did and that every government would be proud to have someone like him in its service, especially when their country is in danger."

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IN THE NEWS

WHEN HADASSAH ERRED

HAS THE EDIFICE complex of some of Israel's national institutions been taken so far that humanity no longer has a look in? My question is prompted by an appalling incident in Jerusalem last month when a $2\frac{1}{2}$ -year-old boy, suffering from measles with pulmonary complications, was refused admission to two city hospitals because neither of them had an isolation ward. Sha'arei Zedek turned the child down because it was already tending two polio cases and feared that the presence of a contagious measles case would jeopardise their lives. Hadassah refused admission because it had no isolation ward-but offered to have the child transferred by ambulance to the Zrifin hospital, a 45-minute journey away.

Apart from the fact that a Sha'arei Zedek doctor had said such a journey was inadvisable, the mother, who was living in impoverished circumstances, would never have been able to afford the fare to visit him. As it was she could not afford to take a bus back to their home in an outlying Jerusalem suburb, and carried the ailing child in her arms.

After a neighbour, a police officer, heard of the case and intervened with the Sha'arei Zedek authorities, it was agreed to isolate a room in the hospital for the admission of the child. But it was too late. He died in his mother's arms on his way there.

EMERGENCY ARRANGEMENTS

Many questions are provoked by this pitiful tragedy, but there are two major ones which cannot be allowed to go without answer: If Sha'arei Zedek could isolate a room for the child after the intervetion of a police officer, why could this not have been done when the mother first sought his admission? And, secondly, was there nowhere in the whole vast conglomeration of buildings in the \$12 million Hadassah medical centre where one small child, in desperately ill health, could have been isolated for medical treatment?

But the matter does not end there. Sha'arei Zedek today concedes that Jerusalem needs an isolation ward, Hadassah maintains that it does not. I should have thought that this terrible experience would be enough to convince the Hadassah authorities of their short-



HADASSAH'S \$12M. MEDICAL CENTRE Not a corner to spare for one small boy

sightedness, and I hope that the municipal authorities will override this advice and ensure that adequate isolation facilities are henceforward provided in Jerusalem. Furthermore, with the Hadassah medical centre situated so far outside the capital, it is essential that arrangements be made for emergency cases to be dealt with at some central point and swiftly transported to the hospital if necessary—or are the sick supposed to queue for public transport at the new bus station?

FRUSTRATED MEDIATORS

EVERY COUNTRY HAS the "silly season" it deserves, when the press serves up the rehashed news of past times with an air of great revelation. The Israelis had quite a bit of it last week, after the star correspondent of the New York Times, "Cy" Sulzberger, found that the only big story out of Israel was something that had happened in—1956, before the Sinai war. President Eisenhower had sent an American to sound out Ben-Gurion and Nasser on the prospects of a peace settlement, and according to Sulzberger, Nasser was not prepared for it. The story was suit-

ably dramatic. Eisenhower's envoy was said to have stayed in Jerusalem under a strict security guard so that no one would see him (why not?) and the whole affair was trebly hush-hush.

ONE SIGNIFICANT ATTEMPT

No sooner had the story appeared than the Israeli papers reported that they had known all about it for years. Ben-Gurion had once told the Zionist General Council about it, but the Foreign Ministry had wanted no publicity and the press had lovally responded to the request-as always. But now that this particular cat was out, they began to recall many others who had sought to mediate. Yediot Ahronot, however, did better than most. It managed to recall four supposed mediations which failed. But, on closer investigation, they contain little more substance than the case of the journalist who said to Nasser: "Why don't you make peace with Israel?" None of these four instances, in which the Maltese Labour leader, Dom Mintoff, the former Labour M.P., Maurice Orbach and some unspecified Arabs were said to be involved, ever even came within striking distance of a mediation initiative.

There was however one significant at-

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tempt that came to nought—and perhaps one day the full story of this particular and tragic failure will be told. This occurred at the end of February 1953, when Ralphe Bunche arrived in Jerusalem with a set of loose proposals which he had already discussed with General Neguib. In the opinion of many observers who were associated with Bunche's mission, it was probably the last practical attempt at mediation which had any chance of succeeding.* I watched the repercussions in Israel at the time and I was left with the impression that the Foreign Ministry was more afraid of its own public opinion than of the terms proposed by Bunche. It was not even a question of accepting them, but only of being willing to discuss them realistically. The same fears appear to be still in evidence—only the chance to talk is no longer there.

UNDIPLOMATIC DIPLOMATS

LET ME HASTEN to explain that I am using the description "undiplomatic" as a compliment here, not as a criticism. I am citing it as a moral, as a warning that foreign office—or foreign ministry, training can sometimes be a liability. My model is the Israeli Ambassador in Bamako, the capital of the Mali Republic on the southern fringe of the Sahara desert. For most routine diplomats, the appointment to Bamako would be considered as a form of punishment, but not by Rafi Ben-Shalom, the new Israel Ambassador in this desert outpost.

For Mr. Ben-Shalom is not so much a diplomatist as a kibbutznik, a member of Mapam who hails from Kibbutz Ha'-ogen. And he has approached his job from the viewpoint of the kibbutz and not from that of the diplomatic salon. His Embassy is run like a kibbutz; meals are served communally, work is shared out equally, and the social distinctions of embassy life are settled with the simple prefix of comrade. Mme. Ben-Shalom is the chavera and the impact of all this on Bamako has been really striking.

The Ambassador and his family (including the children) appear to be happy—an almost unique state among the diplomatic missions in this grilling climate. The Malinese love it. The majority have leftist inclinations and the Embassy kibbutz—and the country it represents—appeals to them enormously. There is something to be said, evidently, for undiplomatic diplomats.

* Much of this story was told in the JEWISH OBSERVER at the time. See J.O. March 27, 1953 and April 3, 1953.

U. A. R.

CAIRO WRITES OFF SOVIET COMMUNISM

BITING ATTACK ON "STALINIST TERRORISM"

What started as a dispute in a minor key between the Beirut communist newspaper al Akhbar and the lesser lights of Cairo's radio service on the nature of the U.A.R.'s socialism, had this week been transformed into a major onslaught by all the propaganda organs of the U.A.R. against "communist agents"—so far, the only open critics of the new U.A.R. nationalisation laws.

The Beirut communists' complaint was that Cairo was motivated not by socialist principles but by its eagerness for monopoly. They termed the allocation of 25 per cent of company profits for the workers a "great lie," the introduction of a seven-hour day a device to secure work for the unemployed and the extension of nationalisation measures to Syria a manoeuvre to swallow up the northern region.

Cairo dismissed these allegations as part of a "tendentious, grudging and false campaign" which had as its sole aim "to attack the U.A.R. which is working for the good of the people and for the realisation of their supreme national interests." And there, it seemed, the matter might quite properly have been allowed to rest. But, for reasons best known to itself, the U.A.R. leadership decided otherwise, and the result was a massive, cleverly argued feature last weekend in al Ahram by its chief editor—and main Nasser spokesman—Mohammed Hassanein Heikal.

Differences on classes: Heikal claimed at the outset that his purpose was not to attack communism. This was not necessary-Arab socialism was now actively capable of arguing and controverting other ideologies and, apart from that, no one denied that the communist experiment in the Soviet Union, "regardless of the heavy cost of Stalinist terrorism," had achieved great results. Furthermore, the opposition of the communist world to the capitalist world and the effective role being played by the communist world in international politics "have created a most important world balance which has enabled many of the colonised peoples to rebel against their hangmen."

This could not, however, obscure the

differences between Arab socialism and communism, the first of which was in their attitude toward classes.

Communism wanted the destitute to rebel, dispossess all owners and "get rid of all owners even by killing them" because it considered all owners as exploiters. Arab socialism, on the other hand, wanted to eliminate class paradoxes within the framework of national unity. "In communism, the first step is punishment and retaliation, while in Arab socialism it is justice and equity, achieved in a peaceful, bloodless manner."

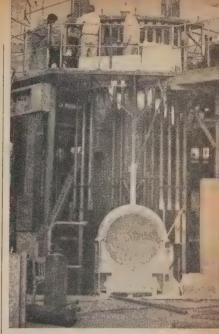
Not for killing: The second difference, said Heikal, was the disparity of their attitude towards individual ownership. Communism maintained that every owner was an exploiter and therefore must be eliminated. Arab socialism drew a line between the exploiting ownership and between ownership which was the result of diligence and hard labour. It believed that the exploiting owner should not be killed. "He should be stripped of any means which enables him to carry out his exploitation, then allowed to re-enter society in order to lead a new life."

The third difference resulted from confiscation and compensation. Communism stood for confiscation, while Arab socialism stood for nationalisation in return for compensation. Then there was the role of the individual in society. In the communist society, the state owned everything and the individual was a working tool whose earnings were expected to cover his essential needs. Under the Arab socialist system, the individual was a foundation of the social structure and the state was an apparatus of the people set up to achieve and guarantee justice.

Heikal referred again to the Stalinist era when "generations of human beings were sacrificed in order to reach the stage of mass production" and when workers and labourers in factories and on collective farms "toiled under a severe, crushing system for the sake of yet unborn generations." Against this, Arab socialism—he stated—believed that the attainment of mass production required a comprehensive national mobilisation of all available resources and that, while it was the duty of these generations to work, it was also their right to live.

Tito example quoted: Heikal, who started out from the premise that he was not attacking communism and seemed for a time more concerned to contrast for the people at home what the communists might have done with what Nasser had done, eventually abandoned all pretence that it was no purpose of his to attack the communists.

There was, he noted, yet another dif-



NASSER'S RUSSIAN NUCLEAR REACTOR For each blessing, a curse

ference between communism and Arab socialism—"the one between rigidity and flexibility or between blind fanaticism and free, unrestricted thinking. The communist cannot budge from a fixed ideological frame otherwise he is considered deviationist or a revisionist, as Tito was called when he tried to introduce innovations and to act freely and independently.

"The Arab socialist feels that the entire legacy of world thought is laid open before him, but also feels that he is capable of developing and adding to his legacy. While the communist is a faithful, obedient disciple of all that he has been indoctrinated with, the Arab socialist is a faithful disciple of the history, problems, reality and aspirations of his nation and homeland. That is why the Arab communists have failed to earn any popular value, particularly in the U.A.R."

The Cairo al Akhbar dropped any pretence that this was a duel on the purely ideological level when it complained bitterly of the communists' "infamous stands on the Palestine and Iskanderun (Alexandretta) questions, their outright opposition to Arab unity and their plots against Arab nationalism."

So far, Moscow has refrained from joining the debate. But Mr. Kruschev's advice to President' Nasser to find out what socialism is all about before embarking upon a campaign to achieve it is still on record. It is not likely, in the face of this frequently insulting attack, that he will allow it to gather dust.



MEMBERS OF THE FORMER REGIME ON TRIAL AT YASSI ADA—elections await their sentence

DAY OF RECKONING ARRIVES FOR TURKISH REVOLUTION

WILL THE ARMY GET OUT OF POLITICS?

from Hans Tütsch

Ankara:

The Committee of Officers that came to power in Turkey after the revolution of May 27, 1960, has almost fulfilled its main promise, namely to create a new constitution and to guarantee the return to democracy.

Elections are to take place in the middle of October, followed by the installation of a new government and the completion of the change-over to democracy. Each new step was accompanied by violent quarrels on the Committee of National Unity which has been acting since January as senate, as upper house of the Constituent Assembly and at the same time as the supreme body of the government presided over by General Gursel, but consisting mainly of civilians. The discussions of the governing body, some of which have been conducted with great violence, have been followed by the nonparticipants with excitement and anxiety and even now some fear that at the last moment new obstacles may turn up on the road to democracy, or that it may even be cut off again by tanks.

After the coup d'état of May 27, 1960, the Committee of National Unity envisaged a swift return to democracy and proclaimed their intention of removing the abuses that had come to light under the Bayar-Menderes regime. A deeper appreciation of the problems of State and society revealed to the officers the need for far-reaching structural reforms. Opinion was divided on the question as to who should carry them out, the Committee or an elected government of civilians.

Dynamic elements gone: The removal of 14 Committee members on November 13 gave a preponderance to those advocating a rapid democratisation of public authority, though the opposition was

still not entirely silent. The dynamic element, however, had left the Junta, and some of the initiative now proceeded from the universities. The House of Representatives which took its place alongside the officers' senate in the constituent assembly, was able to achieve a certain weight of its own, even though the Committee of National Unity remained the decisive power factor.

Certain of the Committee's plans, which had been announced before the "purge" of November 13, had aroused high expectations throughout the country; whether their realisation would in fact have removed the social and economic misery is another question. The fulfilment of these expectations had to be adjourned just when the restoration of democracy was set about as the first task to be undertaken. It will be up to the new National Assembly which is to be elected in the autumn to satisfy the hopes of the people. If it fails-and the tasks which will confront it are Herculeanthen no doubt the call for renewed drastic intervention by the Army or some other revolutionary force will be heard.

Since the last century, the Army has been the element of progress in Turkey. Whereas in Europe and America property and education are considered to be the marks of the middle-class, which creates and sustains the liberal democracies, education and the command of modern technology and authority are the main characteristics of Turkish officers. Their reputation is based on the ancient military tradition of the Turks. The fact that the Army won the last war in which it fought strengthens its pride; unlike those of certain neighbouring states its officers do not have to overcome the

trauma of defeat. The Army represents an important educational centre, since not only are the officers receiving proper training, but all the soldiers are now taught reading and writing—an especially important factor in a country two-thirds of whose population are still illiterate.

Rallying point for revolutionaries?: Whereas in Europe the Army appears more as a conservative factor when it intervenes in politics or becomes involved in them, in Turkey it has been more of a progressive element. Strangely enough, the reactionaries in Turkey are the uneducated common people, not a privileged upper class. It is true that individual officers such as Marshal Cakmak in the forties and General Gumuspala today, represent politically conservative tendencies; but they form rather the conservative wing of the progressive camp.

There is, however, the danger that such personalities might become the rallying point for extremely reactionary forces. It appears to be typical of the development of modern Turkey that generals have been at the head of the State almost uninterruptedly from 1908, the year of the Young Turk Revolution, until 1950, and that for the last year officers have once again been at the helm. Two of the four important political parties are led by generals, Inonu and Gumuspala. During their presidency neither Kemal Ataturk nor Ismet Inonu introduced a military entourage into the civil government but always used civilian officials.

The convulsions among the elite have been most obvious in the army, particularly since it has borne the responsibility of government. The Army is not in any case strengthened by the discussion of the political problems with which the officers

have to contend. On May 27, 1960, it was possible to say in good faith that the Committee of National Unity represented the whole of the military forces which were first drawn into politics by Menderes to quell the student disturbances and which then decided for themselves to see that everything was ordered properly. With the withdrawal of most of the members of the Junta from the hierarchy and the assumption of political functions the Committee has, however, lost influence in the Army where higher ranking officers are trying to make their influence felt. The quarrel about the replacement of the Supreme Commander of the Air Force at the beginning of June provides a typical example of this development.

In-out-in commander: It is only possible here to give a highly simplified outline of the complex conflict that has raged around the Supreme Commander of the Air Force, General Irfan Tansel. Twenty-four hours after acting as the self-assured host on Air Force Day, Tansel was abruptly transferred on June 5 to a post in Washington which in no way accorded with his rank and which he regarded as an "elephants' cemetery". He refused to comply with the transfer order, obviously with support of Chief of Staff General Sunay. A few days later an official communiqué announced his appointment as Supreme Commander of the Air Force, just as though he had never occupied the post or been deposed.

Simultaneously with General Tansel's reinstatement, General Mandanoglu, who since the "purge" of November 13 had usually presided over the Committee of National Unity, was relieved of his command of the Ankara garrison, which is an important power factor. His resignation from the Committee was not accepted but he went on "indefinite leave", declaring that he would not return until the spirit of the Junta had changed. Colonel Muzaffa Yurdakuler now presides over the Junta.

The retirement of Mandanoglu, who was regarded as the "strong man" of the Committee and came forward as the main advocate of a rapid return to democracy, was followed by sensational dismissals in the high command of the armed forces. General Tansel removed a large number of his closest colleagues from his staff and also the General who occupied his own post for four days.

Death sentences considered: Moreover, the supreme commanders of the Army and Navy were relieved of their posts, as was the commander of Gursel's bodyguard. How far private intrigues have influenced this "changing of the guard" is not so interesting as the important fact that the Supreme Commander of the Air



SUPREME COURT PRESIDENT BASOL Division on death

Force was able successfully to oppose the orders of the officers' Junta. He was able to enforce his will thanks to an Air Force demonstration over the capital for which an innocuous explanation was given afterwards but which came dangerously close to being a new putsch.

While in Tansel's case the authority of the Committee of National Unity over the Army was at issue, the decisions involved in Madanoglu's retirement from the Junta were basically political. According to the unofficial results of the referendum on the constitution held on July 9, two-thirds of the electorate (in a 75 per cent turnout) voted in favour of it. To all intents and purposes, if not absolutely irrevocably, it has thereby committed itself to the democratic way.

The new elections are not to take place until the trial at Yassi Ada is over and this may last into August. The officers' committee will decide whether the death sentences that are expected shall be carried out or whether the prisoners will be reprieved. After the elections and after the appointment of the new government it would lose these powers and for this reason the elections are scheduled to take place on October 29. Members of the Committee are divided on the guestion as to whether the defendants who are condemned to death should be executed. General Gursel appears to favour a reprieve-as does Ismet Inonu, President of the Republican People's Party.

4,000 officers dismissed: The Committee of National Unity is depressed by anxiety about its own future. It is true that

the new constitution provides for the 23 members being incorporated in the "Upper House" of the new National Assembly and it also guarantees them immunity for their revolutionary actions. Such provisions can of course be revised.

The personal losses resulting from the revolution are extraordinary; over four thousand officers were dismissed in August, 1960, 235 of them of general's rank—the exact number has never been announced—and still more have since been compelled to retire. In one year certain staff posts have been filled and refilled five times, that of the Chief of General Staff three times. Divisions are under the command of colonels and numerous appointments are being made adinterim, because the occupants of the posts have not yet attained the necessary rank. There are enough officers up to the rank of captain.

The excess of reserve officers was remedied by accepting for such posts only university leavers; all others must come up from the ranks. Twelve thousand young reserve officers were sent out to teach in the villages where they are to fight illiteracy. Some of them have complained in the newspapers that neither school houses nor school materials are available and that they have met with resistance from peasants who do not want their children educated. A few of them have askedin vain - for uniforms or police protection, since their own personal authority in the villages was not enough. The idea of sending young reserve officers out into the countryside again shows the close connection between the Army and the educational system.

Difficult inheritance: The difference between the officers' committee in Turkey and other military regimes is that, in spite of the fact that some members of the committee may have had strong mental reservations and others are reputed to have displayed authoritarian tendencies, it has always proclaimed its intention to return to democracy: the committee's original aim was simply to fight against abuses. In the course of time, however, it has promised fresh initiatives and aroused hopes of fundamental reforms, which have not been fulfilled. The National Assembly to be elected in the autumn will therefore enter into a difficult inheritance.

ISTANBUL FOOTNOTE: For the first time since the revolution, a Turkish court here sentenced a 30-year-old man to death last Friday on charges of "inciting people to counter-revolution and planning to abolish the Committee of National Unity and the Constituent Assembly." The accused was a former member of the Justice Party.

EDUCATION

TOO FEW SCHOOLS AND TEACHERS

ARABS HAVE A LONG WAY TO GO TO CATCH UP

from our own correspondent

New York:

Most of the Arab countries have stated their lofty ideals in the realm of education, but none of them has so far managed to put them into operation. The reasons vary from bad teaching methods to a chronic and almost crippling shortage of teachers, as a recent UNESCO survey of education in the Arab countries clearly shows.

Iraq's declared aim in this field is "to provide children with a basic culture which would make them good citizens, sound in body, mind and conduct, and discover their capabilities and aptitudes."

However, despite the growing number of children attending primary schools and secondary schools, there is no sign that Baghdad's Education Ministry is getting within striking distance of beginning to solve the multifarious problems facing it.

U.A.R.'s bigger problem: In 1951, there were 200,000 primary school-children, boys and girls. This figures has more than doubled in the last ten years to 530,000. By 1965, the secondary schools will have an estimated total of 235,000 pupils.

As against these figures, Iraq's teacher training colleges are turning out just over 300 teachers a year, when, for the country's secondary school pupils alone she will need to be training 850 teachers a year in four years' time, nearly three times as many as now.

The U.A.R. faces the same problems, but on a much bigger scale. Two years ago, the latest date for which figures are available, Egypt had 2,300,000 primary schoolchildren (compared with 1,300,000 in 1950-51). During the same period, the number of primary, secondary and technical school pupils increased from 310,000 to 450,000.

No room for all: These figures do not indicate only a high birth rate. The UNESCO survey, which covered ten countries—Iraq, Jordan, U.A.R., Kuwait, Lebanon, Libya, Morocco, Saudi Arabia, the Sudan and Tunisia—points out that the annual rate of increase in the number of children of school age is only some three or four per cent, taking the



FILLING MOROCCO'S CLASSROOMS IS EASY

It's the teachers who are missing—fifteen hundred of them a year

Arab countries as a whole.

The larger part of the increase in the number of pupils is accounted for by the increase in the number of schools, although this is far from being adequate. As the survey points out, even those Arab countries which have made most progress, comparatively, in the field of education, still have thousands of children for whom the schools have no room. There are many villages which do not "have a school worthy of the name," and in some countries "the majority of children must . . . be temporarily forgotten about."

This state of affairs has intensified the shortage of teachers apparent throughout the Arab world. "The rate at which teacher training schools and other training establishments can remedy this situation varies greatly from country to country," says the survey, and it continues: "In virtually no instance, however, do these establishments provide a sufficient number of certified teachers for immediate requirements, still less for the requirements which will arise from a rapid educational expansion."

Ill-trained staff: Very often, people are employed as teachers who have had no education beyond a few years at primary school. At best, many teachers, although they may have an educated background, have had no professional training whatever.

Lebanon is a case in point. Its two teacher training colleges—one for primary teachers, the other for secondary teachers—supplied 97 trained teachers in 1958, when the country needs 200 primary and 70 secondary teachers a year.

Libya's situation in this respect is considered worst of all, despite the fact that Nasser has sent a good number of the teachers his own republic so badly needs to spread the word in King Idris's domain.

Villages unpopular: Only a quarter (500) of the trained teachers it needs every year (2,000) were coming out of Morocco's teacher training colleges, while the Sudan was getting 632 men and 177 women teachers for its 2,000 schools.

But the problem is not limited to teacher training. When the teacher has got his diploma or other qualifications, how do you get him to go and live in a remote village where there is not even a house suitable for him to live in, let alone a school building which approaches adequacy?

The survey reports that "the solution generally envisaged . . . is that the ministers (of education) concerned should recruit more young student-teachers in these less attractive areas in the hope that, once their training has been completed, they will return there to teach." It does not say how successfully this solution has been attempted.

"Streams" sharply divided: The shortage of teachers is "especially critical" in secondary and vocational schools and in trade training centres, which are themselves very seriously lacking. Over all the Arab countries, 16 per cent of all schoolchildren attend secondary schools. A mere 2 per cent go to secondary vo-

cational schools.

The only country which would seem to be able to meet the growing needs of secondary education is Egypt, although even there qualified teachers for mathematics, science and modern languages, as well as some other subjects, are scarce. The Syrian region has no hope of meeting the needs of its secondary schools, though here, private education caters for a large proportion of the pupils, who would otherwise have no chance of getting any further than primary schools.

One reason for the shortage of Egyptian teachers for certain subjects may be the system of "sharply divided 'streams,' which result in half of all secondary pupils completing two out of three years without learning anything at all about mathematics, physics, chemistry or natural sciences . . . the scientific stream have nothing to do with history or geography." The survey cites similar examples of imbalance in curricula in Libva and elsewhere.

Arabic a hindrance: Textbooks and teaching methods come in for strong criticism. The "abstract, bookish, not to say boring" nature of the teaching in Arab countries, where reliance is placed on learning by heart simply in order to pass examinations, is paralleled by the textbooks, which are "all too frequently sketchy and dogmatic, dry, or ponderous and badly illustrated.

An even bigger stumbling block than the textbooks is Arabic itself. The difference between literary Arabic and that spoken by pupils and teachers makes teaching and learning extremely difficult, so that higher scientific and technical studies, as well as advanced literary and juridical studies are conducted, not in the national language, but in English or French. Nevertheless, the survey adds, "the authorities are unanimous in complaining of the lack of good specialists" in the teaching of the foreign languages they need.

Many of the problems faced by educa-



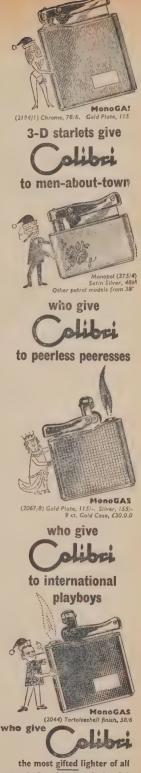
COVER OF CAIRO SHAKESPEARE But what about the three R's?

tionalists in the Arab countries are peculiar to under-developed countries in the twentieth century, but one of the central ones is certainly not. "In every one of the Arab states, the Minister of Education is obliged to note that teachers are inadequately paid . . . The teacher's modest pay is no longer proportionate to the amount of work and the professional qualities required of him.'

"Standards are changing": Arab education authorities also come in for some criticism because of their attitude to school buildings generally. They tend to think that schools must be built to last for ever.

This, of course, contrasts directly with modern thought on the subject in the western world, notes the report. In the west, educationalists "hold increasingly that schools should never be built to last indefinitely. Standards are continually changing, and school building should keep abreast of this evolution".

But despite these shortcomings, the UNESCO survey is, on the whole, optimistic about the future of mass education in the Arab countries. Throughout the Arab world, it reports, there is a longing for education, "and there are grounds for believing that this longing will be fulfilled." In some countries, it goes on, "there were so many illiterates and so few children at school, that even the most expert observer could have been forgiven for wondering whether the laws relating to compulsory education would ever be implemented . . . The broad mass of the people was apparently condemned to derive its culture from the existing folklore. It is now evident that such fears were without foundation."



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THE GULF

KASSEM SAYS IT AGAIN

"WE WILL ANNEXE KUWAIT FORCIBLY"

With the 3,000 British troops in Kuwait just waiting for the moment when they can pull out of the gruelling heat, boredom and uncertainty that have been their lot since they arrived to protect the sheikhdom from the threat of an Iraqi attack, with an Arab League replacement force still more of a promise than a materialisation and with the whereabouts of the 150 Saudi Arabian troops already in Kuwait something of a mystery, General Kassem dropped another of his ill-aimed bombshells into the Persian Gulf last week.

"We want to liberate Kuwait," he told an audience attending the laying of a corner-stone for a factory which will produce concrete railway sleepers. "However," he continued, "if they prefer the word annexation, then we will annexe Kuwait — forcibly and despite their wishes."

"They," it soon transpired, were the British, soon to be ousted from Iraq. "The time of the imperialists is very near. It will come when we do away with imperialism in our country and celebrate its funeral with the entire world." Heartened by the applause which his words evoked, the Iraq Prime Minister continued: "Our battle with British imperialism, which has committed aggression against us throughout the Arab countries, is one which will eliminate its interests and aims."

Not one inch: Certainly, Kuwait would be liberated. "We have vowed to liberate it and we do not accept half solutions... We will not concede an inch of our right... God is with us. God, who granted success to our victorious revolution on July 14, will grant us success in our victorious battle against the imperialists, against the feudalist regime and against the robbers of the wealth of peoples."

From the deity, he turned to oil, announcing the resumption of the negotiations with the Iraq Petroleum Company later this month. Iraq, he declared, would not transgress against the rights of the company owners, "but we defend our rights. Remember that we are waging a battle for our rights. Allow none of 'them' or their stooges to sneak into

your ranks. We lie in wait for the treacherous imperialists."

Meanwhile, back in Kuwait, where there seemed the unpleasant possibility of their being deprived of British support without the compensation of an Arab replacement force (other than the "missing" Saudi Arabians), Sheikh Sabah's government issued a statement which pointed out that Kassem had now confirmed what they had been saying all along.

Day is near: "We shall stand side by side in one rank in the face of the aggressors to quell this aggression and to defend the entity and independence of our beloved homeland," said the government statement in something like a spirit of desperation. But it discovered cheer in the prospect that "the day is not far off when the noble Iraqi people will end Kassem's despotic rule. The day is not far off when the Iraqi people will liberate themselves from the yoke of this dictator, so that they may return to the Arab family from which Kassem has isolated them and march with us in the surging Arab caravan."

ADEN PROTECTORATE UPRISINGS REPORTED

BAGHDAD SEES A WAY OUT

from our special Middle East correspondent, Robert Gee

Reports of new tribal risings against pro-British administrations in the eastern Aden Protectorate will have come as something like manna for the government of General Kassem, now trying to extricate itself from its leader's inopportune comments on Kuwait.

Those responsible for conducting Iraq's relations with other Arab states, particularly within the Arab League, have been trying for the past few weeks to argue, if not against the annexation of Kuwait, against any Arab move which might seem to to support the British position in the Gulf area.

They have repeatedly made the point that Britain still controls a sizeable portion of Arab territory and that Arab efforts should be directed toward getting the British out of Aden and the surrounding territories, rather than planning how best to confront the Iraqi Army on the Kuwaiti frontier.

Fighting in Oman: Now, Baghdad is no longer alone. Following weekend reports—all from Arab sources—of uprisings in the Hadhramaut and accounts of British air attacks in the region of Mukalla, Cairo and Riadh have joined demands that the British withdraw. Cairo



KUWAIT'S DEPUTY GOVERNOR Side by side, in one rank

reported that a battle "between the fighting Arab people of Oman and the treacherous British colonialism" was still raging after four days,

Saudi Arabia alleged that Britain was using "open aggression against the unarmed Arabs of the Arab South, Its aircraft continue to drop bombs on the sons of this struggling people,"

Baghdad, hopeful now that the tide was turning in its favour, fuelled the flames of Arab disquiet. Agitation and turmoil were spreading among all the Arab tribes in the region, it reported. "They are angered by the barbarous treatment to which their brethren are subjected by the British imperialist forces. The prevailing feeling among these tribes is that something must be done to remove the imperialist-installed sheikhs and amirs and to deliver them from imperialist bondage."

Another resolution: The Iraqi press, commenting on these developments, has drawn the attention of the Arab world to the fact that "a revolution is sweeping along the shore of the whole Arabian Sea, from the Gulf of Oman to Basra, the harbour of the Arab Gulf, and ending at Aden, the harbour of the Red Sea" and has demanded to know what the League is going to do about it.

The League, already hard pressed to muster a token force for dispatch to Kuwait, is not sure that it can do anything about it, other than shout out loud. But the feeling is that, once the British troops in Kuwait have been relieved, it will be possible to turn its attention to other pressing matters—provided General Kassem will let it.

BOOKS

JEWS AND GERMANS

THE GERMAN OPPOSITION TO HITLER, by Hans Rothfels; 166 pp., index; (Wolff) 18s.

A time will come, probably sooner than many people think, when the relationship of Jews and Germans will have to be normalised. By this I mean exactly this and nothing else. I don't mean that it will have to become exceptionally cordial, or formally frigid. It will, in fact, have to find its own level.

So far this has not happened. There were too many obstacles in the way. The Jewish memory and the German reaction to it, which has taken so many forms. It is inevitable that today some of the relationships are affected—on both sides—by the mixture of memory, reparation and restitution. Altogether, it is not a healthy state of mind,

Just lately, we have passed through a novel aspect of the German complex. It was demonstrated, so to speak, by A. J. P. Taylor's account of the origins of the second World War. He claimed, as a historian and not as a partisan, that the time had come to set the record straight and to show that, if anything, Hitler had tried to avert the outbreak of the war. This is not the place to consider the fallacies of Mr. Taylor's argument, but we have to underline the fashion which he has started and which, in a different context, Professor Rothfels continues.

His argument is that there was a heroic opposition to Hitler, but it failed and was largely paid for with the lives of its members because the western powers would not treat with it or consider it as a serious factor. Rothfels is particularly hard on men like Namier and Trevor-Roper, and on Elizabeth Wiskemann, whom he accuses of suppressing the true facts about the German opposition. But Professor Rothfels himself ignores the central issue in the consideration of the German opposition. What was it they opposed? Some were constant and brave and fought Hitler and his regime all down the line. But they were a small minority. The great majority of the military and political opposition to Hitler was based on the belief that Hitler was leading Germany into disaster. So long as Hitler looked like being successful, the opposition faded away. Only when it was forced to act against Hitler, and when they were made to realise that there was no alternative to unconditional surrender, did they take the decisive step.

It is a strange situation now in which historians are trying to rehabilitate both Hitler and the opposition to Hitler because of the acts of western statesmen and politicians. It would be the quick way towards ridding Germany of its complexes, but would it be true: would it be right: would it really be history? The available evidence points the other way. The normal relationship with the future Germany cannot be treated on whitewashed history, or by shifting the blame onto Allied shoulders. The story of the opposition to Hitler is a tragic story and often a moving story; but it is also a story of political folly, of moral hesitation and of the refusal to see that there could be no defeat of Hitlerism without a parallel defeat of Germany. And this second half of the story, Professor Rothfels fails to tell.

J.K.

SUDAN UNDER THE MICROSCOPE

A Modern History of the Sudan, by P. M. Holt; 227 pp., maps, illustrations, bibliography, index; (Weidenfeld and Nicolson) 27s. 6d.

Dr. Holt has set an almost impossibly high standard for those who are to follow with other volumes in this publisher's new Asia-Africa series, which is under the general editorship of Professor Bernard Lewis. A former Sudanese Government servant (in the Ministry of Education and as official Archivist) and now Reader in the History of the Near and Middle East in the University of London, Dr. Holt approaches his topic with the historian's care for fact and the civil servant's regard for detail. For the lay reader there is, indeed almost too much detail, especially in those chapters dealing with the long years of the Turco-Egyptian regime and the subsequent Mahdist rule. A willingness to be informed by Dr. Holt cannot overcome a growing impatience to "get on with it." And yet, on reflection, the political and sectarian divisions of later years, resulting in the military coup of 1958, are meaningless without some detailed knowledge of the forces shaped—or distorted —by the first years of western impact.

The major part of Dr. Holt's study concludes with the event which also saw the end of his service in the Sudan—the establishment of an independent Republic on New Year's Day 1956. There are only seventeen pages left to him in which to deal with the turbulent happenings

since then-a pity, for these years seem likely to have as much impact on the Sudan's next one hundred years as the era of Khedive Isma'il had on the preceding one hundred. The parliamentary regime of 1956-58 and the coming of military government are, in comparison with the rest, merely summaries of events, informed here and there with the author's estimations of the personalities involved (it is interesting for example that he considers Brigadier Hasan Bashir Nasr and not Abboud as the most powerful member of the ruling junta). But the reader will search in vain for any clue which might have led us to expect the Sudanese Prime Minister's recent endorsement of Soviet foreign policy in almost every detail, while seeking some comfort in Dr. Holt's belief that Sudan's credo of neutrality is not incompatible with friendly relations with both power blocs or with the acceptance of foreign aid which does not involve military commitments. Less readily acceptable is his seeming commendation of the cultural worth of the "abundant products of the Egyptian printing presses, Egyptian films, and the broadcasts of the Egyptian radio." On this score, the reader is entitled to ask justification. Perhaps in any revised version of his work Dr Holt will provide it.

G.D.P.

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A Jewish Observer Panorama

KEEN DEMAND FOR CORNER-STONES

POLITICIANS GIVE BOOST TO THRIVING INDUSTRY

from our own correspondent

Jerusalem:

The laying of foundation-stones is a cherished custom in Israel. It—or rather, they—have become part of the national landscape. As a rule, foundation-stones are laid far in advance of actual work on the building/factory/post office/telephone exchange/pipeline/kibbutz dining room, etc.

Several hundred guests are invited, half of them to sit on the raised platform and the others in a makeshift auditorium, from which vantage points they look at each other while speakers drone on for hours, extolling the contribution which the new building/factory/post office/telephone exchange/pipeline/kibbutz dining room, etc., will make to the industrial/agricultural/cultural advancement of the nation.

This goes on every month throughout the year, but during election campaigns the custom becomes epidemic in proportions. Every party, it seems, asks its representatives in the Cabinet to concentrate its foundation-stone laying activities in the two months or so before polling day, the obvious aim being to show the public how active in its interests that particular party is.

Something they omit: The people know, of course, what it is all about, but many of the ceremonies are so timed and arranged that it is often hard to tell whether the occasion for which we are summoned is genuine or not. That is not to say they are phoney foundationstones, but some of them mark enterprises which are still only in the planning stage—a fact carefully omitted from mention in the speeches.

Mapai, which has the largest number of portfolios in the Cabinet, has consequently the best chance to capitalise on this national pastime, but the other parties do their best to keep pace. The race started about two months ago when the foundation-stone was laid for the development town of Arad, close to Rosh Zohar, north-west of the Dead Sea. (Arad plus six other development towns in the Negev has been in planning for several years past. Building will start in two years' time.) Present at the ceremony: Labour Minister Josephtal (Mapai).

One month later, a second ceremony was held at the same site in the presence of Commerce Minister Sapir (Mapai) and there was a ground-breaking ceremony for a new road to link Sdom with Beersheba (the first ever ground-breaking ceremony for a road).

Tricky problem: Finance Minister Levi Eshkol and Agriculture Minister Dayan attended the completion ceremony of the Menasse tunnel for the water conduit from the north to the Negev. (The tunnel is not yet completed.)

The foundation-stone laying for Ashdod Port presented a more tricky problem. As a port it is within the province of the Transport Ministry (Ahdut Avoda) and Transport Minister Ben-Aharon duly attended the ceremony.

But, since the President was there too, it became an act of state, and, anyway, Ahdut Avoda realised that it could not claim all the credit for an enterprise of such magnitude. Some of it had to be attributed to the financial negotiations of Finance Minister Eshkol (Mapai). The Liberals, not to be left in the cold, published advertisements the next morning saying the real initiator of Ashdod had been Oved Ben-Ami (a Liberal).

A capital interest: When the newly built ship Timna arrived at Haifa port, Eskol and Sapir spoke at a ceremony to mark the last ship to be received under the West German Reparations Agreement. Transport Minister Ben-Aharon was not invited to speak. Afterwards, it turned out that it was not the last Reparations ship, but that two more are scheduled for delivery next year. On Monday of this week, the Ministers of Labour and Commerce (Mapai) laid the foundation-stone of a new shikun (housing estate) in Haifa, to cost I£30 million.

Development Minister Bentov (Mapam) invited a busload of newsmen down to Elath to preside over the inauguration of the local branch of the Discount Bank! In a speech he welcomed the flow of private capital to Elath.

Jobs for Arabs: Following severe criticism in the Tel Aviv City Council, and a series of articles in *Ha'aretz*, criticising the lack of parks in Tel-Aviv, the



EVERYBODY'S DOING IT
Mennen Williams joins in, with a tree
planting

municipality "inaugurated" 14 parks in as many days.

Social Welfare Minister Dr. Burg (Mizrachi) inaugurated three new closed institutions for juvenile delinquents.

The Mininstry of Finance published a large advertisement offering posts to 25 ARAB income tax inspectors. (The problem of Arab secondary school graduates is very pressing: many of them are unemployed.)

Mizrachi contribution: The State Labour Exchange management published a large advertisement offering an unspecified number of jobs to engineers, technicians, bookkeepers, clerks, bricklayers, electricians, etc.

For the past three weeks, Commerce Minister Sapir has been travelling up and down the country, distributing master craftsmen's certificates to artisans and addressing public ceremonies with mass attendances.

Interior Minister Shapiro (Mizrachi) laid the foundation-stone for a children's institution in Jerusalem.

The Ministry of Posts (whose acting head since Benjamin Mintz's death has been David Ben-Gurion, and whose effective head for the past ten years has been Director General Haim Ben-Menachem) inaugurated a special Post Office for Beduin in Beersheba. Seven Beduin were appointed as postmen. Twice a week they carry the mail from Beersheba to their tribal camps, on camels, horses, bicycles and on foot.

Karaite synagogue): Finance Minister Eshkol (Mapai) opened an exhibition of building materials in Beersheba.

An electronic brain was "inaugurated" at the Defence Ministry.

Commerce Minister Sapir opened a new factory for glassware in Petach Tikva.

Mapai Knesset Member and Jerusalem City Councillor Mordecai Zar (representing the Kurdish sector) inaugurated on Monday "the 1961 season of the new, modernised TENNIS COURT in Jerusalem".

The country's first synagogue for Karaites (whom the Rabbinate refuses to recognise as Jews) was dedicated in Ramleh on Wednesday, credit to be claimed by Mapai.

A halt called: Such a glittering calendar of public events occurs only in the last few weeks before a general election. However, the various party propagandists realise that it is their cumulative effect that counts, even though many recognise such ceremonies as campaign aids. They are effective.

However, in a few cases (very few), leaders have called a halt. Thus, a foundation-stone laying ceremony was to have been held in Tel Aviv for the new premises for small artisans. Eshkol and Sapir were to have taken part. But the ceremony was called off at the instance of the Mapai election headquarters in order to avoid the impression that it was an election gimmick. (Two months previously a similar ceremony was held at the same site).

In the Besor Region (in the south) a ceremony to proclaim a new settelement project was dropped for the same reason.

LETTER

MORE ACCURACY PLEASE

Sir,—The sub-heading you gave my recent article on taxes (J.O. July 28) "The Less You Earn, the More You Pay" is misleading. The fact that the highest marginal income tax rate is 60 per cent does mean that very rich people pay relatively less tax than in many other countries, while people in the middle income groups pay considerably more owing to the steep progression. But there is a world of difference between this and a tax system under which one would pay less tax on a higher income than on a lower one-a system which to my knowledge does not exist anywhere, and here would certainly have led to the downfall of Government within a week of its inception. Since the article explained the rate of tax progression in some detail, the sub-heading given to it should more accurately have reflected these facts.

Yohanan Ramati

Ein Rogel St., Jerusalem.

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Fri. 11th August: 9.15 The News, 9.25 Our Correspondent Reports. 9.30 Sabbath Programme, 9.44 News Headlines, Sat. 12th August: 9.15 The News, 9.25 Editorial Opinion, 9.35 Cantoral Music: Chapters from the Hallet. 9.44 News Head-

Chapters from the Hailet. 9,44 News Headlines.

Sun. 13th August: 9,15 The News. 9,25
Heritage: Report on Congress of Jewish
Studies. 9,44 News Headlines.

Mon. 14th August: 9,15 The News. 9,25
Israel's General Elections: The Party Platforms. 9,44 News Headlines.

Tues. 15th August: 9,15 The News. 9,25
Commentary. 9,35 Songs from Israel.

Wed. 16th August: 9,15 The News—including
Election Day Results. 9,44 News Headlines.

Thurs. 17th August: 9,15 The News. 9,25
Israel's Press Views the Election Results. 9,35
Easy Hebrew Conversation with Yehuda
Goodman. 9,44 News Headlines.

Note: If the Eichmann Trial continues, it will
be reported each day Monday to Friday.

happy birthday!

ON ISRAEL'S BARMITZVAH YEAR



The Jewish people looks with pride Israel's achievement during thirteen years of statehood.

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Jewish Observer and Middle East Review

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JPA-JNF NEWS

Prepared by JPA/JNF Public Relations Department, 4 St. George Street, Hanover Square, W.1. Hyde Park 2286/7

LACHISH: PROOF OF A PARTNERSHIP THAT WORKED

A LOOK AT THE FIRST OF THE NEW-STYLE DEVELOPMENT AREAS, WHERE GIFT FUNDS, INVESTMENTS AND PEOPLE TOGETHER BUILT

25 VILLAGES IN FIVE YEARS

Just over five years ago, you had to be an expert on Israel's geography to have heard of the Lachish district. Then we were told of official plans to take this region out of the archaeologists' hands and make it live. A new-style development was planned—and putting over the story proved a public relations man's nightmare.

There was the complicated phasing of settlement: the blue-printing of public services; the construction of rural centres; the building of a large township from scratch. It was a job embarked upon at a time when the immigration graph had taken a dip and the political situation had become clouded over with a fierce arms race and the growing strength of Abdul Nasser. Soon, most of us forgot the development scheme to study maps of the Sinai desert. Suez was upon us. But others went on working at Lachish.

A CROSSROADS

Now take a look at the area. Kiryat Gat forms a crossroads for southern traffic and the region contains a settled population of 16,000. There are 3,200 farm units. Let's go back to the beginning.

The district of Lachish occupies some 220,000 acres (900,000 dunams) in the heart of the country and at the narrows just below Jerusalem and between the Jordan frontier and the coast. Its southwest extremity lies close to the Gaza strip, its northern tip juts out into the Corridor. A battleground through the ages, it was, in October 1948, the scene of "Operation Ten Plagues", which changed the course of the Arab-Israel War.

A barren, open territory for centuries, Zionist colonisation experts had their eyes on this expanse even in the early thirties, and, starting with Negba, kibbutzim were established at key points. By 1954, there were 36 villages dotted over the region—each of them a unit on its own, each a lone guardian of its immediate environs, all of them a constant security worry to the Israel High Command.

The turning point was 1955. A comprehensive plan was introduced at a cost of over I£60 millions and this provided for the extension of the irrigation network, road-building and a railway halt at Kiryat Gat, afforestation and reclamation, with the planting of field crops and orchards. Most revolutionary of all was the creation of the township of Kiryat Gat as a "capital" of the area. This urban centre concentrated all the major services of the region, factories and workshops

for light engineering and the processing of agricultural produce. Here were located secondary and vocational schools, cold-storage facilities, a hospital and administration offices. Skilled personnel of professional calibre had to be directed to Kiryat Gat and given the type of housing their qualifications would earn in the large cities.

WHAT ANGLO-JEWRY DID

Anglo-Jewry contributed its share in various ways: British immigrants came to the region, assisted by investment funds emanating from Britain; the results of our annual appeal were allocated there by the Jewish Agency; the J.N.F. assumed responsibility for large-scale land reclamation and the planting of the Independence Forest in 1948.

Today, the 60 villages farm between them 16,000 acres of irrigated land, sustaining such industrial crops as cotton, sugar beet and ground nuts. There is an immense output of all kinds of vegetables, dairy produce and livestock. Cotton production has multiplied seven times since 1957 and sugar beet has doubled.

This has not been a story of untrammelled progress and smooth accomplishment. While development proceeded at great speed, nothing went according to



The man and the plan. Yitzhak Czisik, the first administrator of Kiryat Gat's development plan, explains the town layout.



A typical Lachish scene three years ago. Today, the pipelines have transformed the pasture into cultivated fields.



Produce of Lachish.
Village children at
Even Sh'muel.

JPA-JNF NEWS

plan. Neither the villages individually nor the region as a whole can by any measure be assumed self-sufficient even today.

What has happened, however, has been a dramatic vindication of the policy of courageous long-term planning that has as its objective the fullest utilisation of all Israel's land resources and the integration of the country into a single economic unit. Lachish has proved a pilot plant in which the vision and energy of Israel's people, combined with the generosity and trust of world Jewry, have brought off an economic and sociological achievement.

With adaptations, the experience of Lachish has gone into the growth of other development areas, from the wastes of the Northern Negev to the rocky hillsides of Upper Galilee.

CAPTAIN HEADS LIST

Passengers cruising on the R. M. S. "Andes" in the Mediterranean had a three-day stop-over in Haifa. It was mainly a non-Jewish party, but Israel made such an impression on the visitors that they subscribed £100 to the Keren Havesod. The collection was arranged by two Yorkshire J.P.A. workers, S. Solk of Leeds and L. Rosen of Hull.

The subscription list was headed by the vessel's Captain, G. M. Fletcher.

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YOUNGER J.N.F. WORKERS LEAVE FOR ISRAEL



A large delegation representing the Younger J.N.F. Commissions, led by their national chairman, Trevor E. Chinn, left London Airport on a chartered El Al Britannia last Sunday for a fortnight's study-tour of Israel.

They were due to take part on Wednesday, August 9, in the dedication ceremony of the new road leading to the summit of Mount Meron in Galilee. The road, together with adjoining reclamation work, has resulted from the efforts of the Younger Commissions of Great Britain and Ireland in subscribing £80,000 sterling. Also included in the itinerary are visits to the Youth Forest at Adullam, and the national park of Hurshat Tal, which was the previous project of these Younger J.N.F. workers.

During a similar tour by the Younger Commissions last year, the group was received by Prime Minister Ben-Gurion, and it is expected that a high-ranking member of the Israel government will join them at a question and answer session again. In addition, receptions at which the tourists will be able to meet representatives of Israel's younger generation have been arranged by the executive of the Keren Kayemeth and the Israel office of the Zionist Federation.

Altogether, 90 young people between the ages of 18-30 travelled on this flight, all of them active workers in Younger J.N.F. Commissions. Picture shows delegates boarding the plane.

THE CAVENDISH GROUP

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